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THE
CONNECTION
BETWEEN
MORAL AND POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY,
CONSIDERED.

BY CHARLES BARON DALBERG.

Charles Theodore, Archb. of

AN ESSAY, READ BEFORE THE ACADEMY OF USEFUL
SCIENCES, AT ERFURT, JULY THE 3d, 1786.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY CHARLES DE HINUBER.

LONDON, 1787.

THE
CONNECTION
BETWEEN
MORAL AND POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY
CONSIDERED.
BY CHARLES BARON D'ALBERG.

AND A READ EDITION OF THE
SOCIETY, AT THE



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BY CHARLES D'ALBERG

LONDON

IF the following Essay was the production of the pen of a mere speculative philosopher, it might perhaps not claim that attention which it will command, when it is known that the illustrious Author has proved himself, in the high station which he holds in church and state, a politician not less consummate than upright and virtuous; and that this and his other eminent qualities have influenced and determined his late election to the coadjutorship of the first electorate of the Germanic empire. What may not that august body expect, for the support of its excellent constitution, from a Prince of such principles as are here publicly professed and established? What may not the state, which he is to govern, hope from his virtues?

May the voice of so eminent a preacher rouse from their slumbers such princes as sleep! May those, whose calling and duty it is to be awake for them, profit by the lesson!

The reader will not want to be told, that the Translator is a foreigner ; as such, he hopes for his indulgence, if, with his best endeavours to do justice to the meaning of the noble Author, he should be found not to have been equally successful with respect to elegance of style and correctness of expression.

THE TRANSLATOR.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

THE Author has drawn here a sketch of his ideas of virtuous characters, such as he conceives them, and such as, in his circumscribed sphere of action, he wishes to imitate. But he confesses, that he is yet far from having succeeded. He submits the whole to superior judgment.

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THE AUTHOR.

DOES he deserve the name of a Statesman, to whom honor and faith are mere sounds ; whom treaties never bind, when the state may receive an advantage by his breaking them ; who insidiously watches the foibles of others, to make them instrumental to his views ; who professes feelings, and in his heart laughs at them ; who holds slaughter and devastation cheap, when they answer his purpose ; who deliberately raises jealousies and confusion, eternally hides his meaning in cyphers, acts with duplicity in negotiations, and boasts of having performed wonders, when every where he has prevailed by artifice and cunning ?

If this is a true character of the Statesman, then he and the Moralist differ very widely indeed.

BUT why is that to be respected in the public man, which in the private man would be looked upon with detestation? If it is a sacred duty to be just to individuals, can it be lawful to betray whole nations? Can gains, of whatever kind they may be, change the nature of detestable actions, and make them good ones? What are the advantages to be obtained by such state-tricks? Let us consult the page of History: What does it shew us? Exhausted finances; devastated countries; tottering thrones; cunning struggling against cunning; vengeance and despair of the deluded victims; the fruits of the liberal arts, trade, and commerce, nipped in the bud; the sighs of the oppressed many, and the malicious sneers of the few.

BUT what purpose can it answer to repeat observations that have been made long ago? The wise man does not stand in need of them: to the artful deceiver they will appear ridiculous. Yet the lover of truth will investigate, and for him they are intended.

LET

LET me therefore proceed to enquire into the first ideas of ethics and politics, which enquiry will be found to be by no means useless. Many a young man, when he first enters into public life, is unsettled in his principles. Whatever the means are, by which the good of the state may be promoted, he holds them all equally lawful. The hopes of being applauded by his friends; instances from history every where to be met with; the turn of affairs; honor and reputation in view; he gives way to them all.— If my observations fall into the hands of a reader of this class; if they teach him how to avoid being misled; if they guide him in his search for truth; then my end is answered.

ETHICS, generally considered, are that science which teaches us so to live, as to fulfil our duties to our Creator, to our fellow-creatures, to ourselves, and to aim at perfection.

POLITICS teach the principles to be adopted and followed in order to promote the
good

good of the state.—They are so far a part of ethics, as they have for their object that good, which concerns the many who form that society which is called the state. From whence it follows, that politics, taken in the general sense, are not in contradiction with ethics, because the former are a part of the latter. Yet political philosophy establishes maxims, which come not under the consideration of moral philosophy, taken in a more confined sense, because the statesman is not confined by duties to individuals, but has a more enlarged field to exert himself in.

It follows, moreover, that that which contrasts with moral philosophy in the general sense, can never be true policy: and that the statesman has particular duties incumbent on him, that are different, for instance, from those of the father, the citizen, or the friend.

WHAT I here advance is most certainly true; but, to the great prejudice of mankind, has often not been attended to.

IN

IN the common sense of the word, ethics comprehend those maxims by which an individual member of society is to regulate his life and conduct. In this sense of the word, the art of government is no part of moral philosophy. But according to scientific notions, things are either material or immaterial. Attributes of such substances that have no sense of good or bad, belong to the former, and of such as are capable of volition and action, as the rational soul is, to the latter class: hence the terms of physically, or morally, good or evil.

PRINCIPLES, which in every moral sense are uncontrovertibly true, I call Universal Moral Philosophy; and of this, political philosophy is a part. The great object of the former is the good of mankind. Whatever promotes the good of all, in all possible respects, promotes also the good of the whole. This is a maxim in universal moral philosophy, and consequently the Statesman ought not to depart from it. Now the question I ask is, Are there in universal moral philosophy fundamental laws, that are also fundamental

damental laws in political philosophy ; and from which every rule of conduct may be derived ? I am convinced there are ; and thus I prove it :

GENERAL moral duties are ;

1. To conform, with the deepest sense of adoration and love, to what we owe the Creator, that eternal and never-failing fountain of our existence, and of whatever exists ;

2. To act, with respect to others, as we wish them to act with respect to us ;

3. To be solicitous about self-preservation ;

4. To aim at perfection.

THE first of these duties will teach the Statesman what is incumbent on him with respect to religion ;

THE second, what he owes to the subjects of his own country, and to those of other states ;

FROM

FROM the third, he will learn prudence and fortitude ;

AND from the fourth, that superiority and eminence which are the characteristics of master-strokes in policy.

IF a Statesman is inimical to religion, he undermines the ground pillars of the state ;

Is he false and unjust—then hatred and distress will be the consequence, which can never answer the end of a true politician ;

Is he indifferent about the preservation of the state—it will go to ruins ;

AND if perfection is not what he constantly aims at, it will fluctuate in mediocrity, and never arrive at that degree of splendor and glorious consistency, which human societies, by a due exertion of their powers, are capable of.

IT is therefore true, that a crafty politician is no politician at all, and that, instead of promoting

promoting the welfare of a state, he works its ruin.

THERE are crimes that seem to make that man happy who commits them, and which by a deluded multitude are mistaken for master-strokes in policy. But let us take into the account the many anxious and uneasy moments before the scheme succeeds ; the number of those who suffer by it ; the consequences, never entirely answering the expectation ; and it will then appear, that there is a wide difference between truth, and what has only the appearance of it.

It may be a hard task to make a sacrifice to honor, of a dishonorable opportunity, that may fortuitously present itself for raising a state : I grant it. Let us suppose a man of parts, and who has nothing so much at heart as the good of his country : let us suppose, that he has the good luck to discover a series of fortunate circumstances, not likely in the course of ages to return again. Only one violent action ; one deception ; one single unjust act ; and he has added to the state a
 very

very desirable portion of power and grandeur. What can there not be said to palliate such a proceeding; what arguments has not sophistry in store even to defend it? To what length will not genius go? Where is the state that has not something of that kind to reproach itself with? Will not so many other fair-dealings sufficiently atone for this single foul deed? Only this once, and never more—Circumstances become pressing—One day more, and the opportunity is lost—Now or never.—What answer can there be made to all these questions? I know but of one:—Let every man, thus circumstanced, act according to his feelings; let him follow his calling: but if he hesitates, considers, and weighs the one against the other, he will never have cause to repent it.

HERE are my doubts with respect to state-mancœuvres, so often admired, and not less frequently praised and commended.

FIRST, then, can all the consequences, in their full extent, be foreseen, suppose even that the wished-for end is obtained? Are

you sure, that neither the present, nor the succeeding generation, will discover and see through your artifices? Can you forget that that state, of which it is known that it holds not itself bound even by the most sacred ties, raises against itself the hatred, envy, and vengeance of other states, their fears and jealousies; and that these sparks may by degrees kindle a flame, which will threaten with a general conflagration? Who is there, that will dare to affirm, that the advantage, thus obtained, will not be lost again, and the whole be involved in the common ruin?

UNDOUBTEDLY, the Statesman, who presumes that for him every thing is just, fit, and lawful, and acts accordingly, is conscious of having the greater means; but then also he is to expect the greater resistance. As soon as his principles are known, he will have all the world against him.

GENIUS may undertake great things, it is true: but then, what can genius do, without having fortune on its side in the execution?

Good

Good and bad luck exert their caprice on the virtuous as well as on the bad man. If the former does not succeed in a just and noble cause, the honour of the attempt, at least, remains for his comfort. The latter, if his wicked and unjust schemes come to nothing, stands branded with shame and infamy. Will it then be said, that a state can prosper by unfair and dishonourable dealings? There are epochs in every state, from which such advantages may be derived, as are consistent with the strictest precepts of moral philosophy; and then, to what a degree of prosperity, strength, and eminence, may not active genius raise it, by adequate laws, by an impartial distribution of justice, a wise œconomy, strict discipline, by rewarding merit, and by setting the example of patriotic and restless activity?

WHAT are the riches of a single state, in comparison with the honour and the good of the whole? Is it the destination of mankind, that nations, by mutual craft and cunning, shall ruin one another? Let the Statesman boldly step forth to oppose the foreign in-

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vader : but wantonly to let loose on the world the excesses of every ignoble passion, can that be the calling of men formed for the purpose of promoting their mutual happiness with united efforts in search of truth and virtue ? It will be objected to me here, that all this is mere cant and enthusiasm : but to object is not to refute ; or is a thought only on that account false or ridiculous, because it soars above the common pitch, and comprehends a great deal ? or is it strange, that truth is exposed to the scorn of prejudices ? It is only the first step that is attended with difficulties : these once overcome, that first step will seldom be the last. And, in the end, what advantages does the Statesman derive, who sets out with overturning truth and justice, the very ground-pillars of the fabric ? Shy, and uneasy in his mind, he then sneaks along the dark and winding lanes of hypocrisy, and is only mindful how to hide his motions : that serenity of temper, the greatest of all worldly blessings, is lost to him : frequently, when he fancies himself within the reach of his object, he finds that a bold adversary has
stopped

stopped his way, because he went the straight road, which is always the shortest; and consequently arrived soonest at the resting-place. At last he is drawn nearer and nearer to that dark and bottomless abyss, which separates the culprit from the man of honor, and from whence repentance, oppressed with shame and despair, strives to rise in vain.

THESE are my doubts. What can they avail? I fear but very little; as little, perhaps, as will be gained over a love-sick person by proving to him that his love is madness. Ambition is equally the main-spring of the greatest virtues and the greatest crimes. Then only the good of mankind will be promoted, when the notions of honor are thoroughly understood, and every where put in practice; when men leave off to offer incense to idols, undeserving of the reputation they are held in, and by whose crimes their forefathers were made miserable; and when they only admire, as great and extraordinary, what at the same time is good and useful to all.

I BELIEVE I have now proved, that political philosophy perfectly agrees with the fundamental principles of moral philosophy. What remains, is to examine in what particulars it differs from the latter.

EACH situation in life, then, has its particular duties belonging to it. Compared with other situations, these duties are various, circumscribed, but not in contradiction. Condition, age, sex ; in short, circumstances, determine their different nature ; and this determination becomes necessary, if a man has to choose amongst several duties. Whoever has to make such a choice, let him adapt his time and his means to his situation, and then choose such as are the most important. The elder Brutus was consul and father ; his sons were state criminals. The consul did his duty, and parental affection remained silent.

IN the physical, as well as in the moral world, every thing has its limits : even virtue ceases to be virtue, when she steps beyond her limits. She has a narrow path to walk in, confined on each side by crimes : on the
one,

one, remissness in the observation of every incumbent duty ; on the other, excess of severity from partial considerations.

DUTIES are never in contradiction to one another. Injustice is not what political philosophy demands. Thence the law, that every private property, in cases of urgent necessity, becomes the property of the state, but not before the proprietor has been indemnified. Timidity and violence are rocks to be avoided with equal care. It is justice that constitutes the ruling principles of all political and moral philosophy.

IF the duties of benevolence are many, and of a different kind ; those of the statesman, the father, the citizen, the brother, the friend, are not less so. The Statesman's calling is to promote the good of the community : the private man's, only that of the few with whom he stands nearest connected. As soon as the private character of the former is out of the question, he is as completely a private man as others. He is son, friend, brother, father, husband : but if he suffers himself

to be swayed by any of these connections; if they influence and over-rule his public conduct, and interfere with the duties which that requires of him; then he is no more the man of the people. Let him attend to every duty with every possible discretion, and he will find, that they may all be made perfectly to agree.

THIS discretion it is, that constitutes the true greatness of a character. If the Minister, in conducting the affairs of the state, is influenced by motives that are foreign to them, he will waver in his resolutions, and reason wrong. Then will he look out for expedients, and depart from that straight road, which truth, and the nature of the business, had pointed out to him. Now, one false step will be followed by another: he will wink at the faults of others, because he is sensible of wanting indulgence for his own. When he first discovers them, they will make him startle; but he will soon be surrounded with the smoke of the incense of flatterers, and he sees them no more. He thinks himself clever, because he fancies himself

himself able to accomplish two things at once; the good of the state, and his own. At the bottom he is a weak man, such as the generality of public characters are, and whom posterity will deservedly consign to oblivion. Every eye is fixed on the Statesman. His foibles are soon discovered. It is not by fine speeches, or by having now and then done a good thing, that he will escape censure—for the affairs of the state could have been managed better.

THIS rock may be avoided, by removing far from his thoughts whatever is foreign to the common good; by cautiously separating from it whatever may bring his private interest in competition. Such constant exertions invigorate the mind: the system becomes less complicated: exertion grows familiar by practice; correspondent experiences help to appreciate the hopes of success, and to make them less precarious. The eye, constantly fixed on the good of the state, acquires strength, and is accustomed to foresee every possible event: personal considerations,

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those fetters of weak minds, do not impede him : he has broke through them all.

YET, notwithstanding all this, he does not cease to be husband, father, friend : he does not cease to be man, that being continually in want of relaxation and rest from labor; but which then only are best enjoyed, when previous exertions have made them desirable.

LET him only husband his time well : let him be guided in the distribution of his hours neither by caprice nor mere mechanism. This is a very material point in active life, for one who means to do something more than to confine his schemes to sounds that are lost in the air. If he is a good œconomist of his time, he will have hours to spare for attending to his domestic duties. Then let him be all father, husband, and friend. In all times, there were Statesmen who knew how to reconcile these duties with their public ones, and had moments left for offering at the shrine of the Muses,
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those intimate and amiable friends of every great and generous mind.

GLORIOUS indeed is the lot of the Statesman ; yet he will often feel its weight, when his good-nature is put to the trial, to steel itself against the repeated attacks of the passions, and the desires of others ; when, in opposition to the feelings of a sympathising heart, he finds himself under the necessity to annihilate, with one single No ! the dearest hopes and fondest wishes of other good men ; when, with the purest intentions, he meets with nothing but censure and ingratitude. But virtue is not to be acquired without many a severe conflict, and much self-denial : and, after all, who is austere enough to insist upon what is impossible ? Cases, where near relations or bosom friends must be treated with rigor, how seldom do they occur ? and who will presume to blame the Statesman, who, so circumstanced, leaves to others the care of duties, that otherwise would revolt human nature ?

LASTLY ;

LASTLY; let every man examine himself well. He, whose mind is not made for cool and deliberate reasoning; whose heart is a stranger to philanthropy; whom even moderate labor exhausts; who has no command over his passions and temper, nor knows how to resist when he ought not to yield, nor to act with steadiness: let that man choose for himself some other station. Each situation in life has its merits, but the duties attached to it must be attended to.

It is sufficiently clear, now, that political philosophy not only agrees with the general principles of moral philosophy, but may also be made perfectly consistent with the particular precepts of the latter. What requires some further investigation is, Why this truth has not as yet been universally acknowledged?

If we consult history, we find that these connections between moral and political philosophy have been discovered but gradually. It is not from the wise sayings and apophthegms

the systems of individual philosophers, that the progress of their practical use may be traced. The ideas of those wise men often soared high above the generally-received notions of the age they lived in, and there were few who dared to follow them. The history of nations, their laws, their treaties and public acts; these are the documents to be consulted, in order to trace the progressive steps of universal practical moral philosophy; and undoubtedly these steps are, singly taken, as unperceivable in their effects, as most other operations in nature.

THE track which human reason usually follows is, first to yield to the impressions of the senses, and to arrive at perfection only by comparing experiences. It is further her way to establish single positions, and from them to abstract general principles and axioms. The history of general moral philosophy proves, that this is her manner of proceeding.

WITH savage nations, bodily strength is what they set the greatest value upon. Witness

ness the savages of America ; the Grecians in the times of their heroes ; witness also the ancient northern nations. When the mental faculties began to be more cultivated, those stood highest in estimation, who had performed some great and arduous undertaking. Such were, for instance, the heroes of Homer. It was late before those ties of equity and justice, by which men and nations are to be connected, were thought of, and still later before they were established by law.

It was not before the Roman law was promulgated, that bounds were set to the power of the father over his children : it was not till the establishment of the Christian religion, that slavery was abolished, and that, at a much later period, the yoke of vassalage became somewhat lighter. Of late, the laws to be observed betwixt nation and nation have been investigated and understood. Grotius and Puffendorf were the first that let in this new light upon the understanding, and Montesquieu dispelled what darkness remained.

YET

YET the following axioms have not as yet been fully understood, much less generally acknowledged as such:—That between nation and nation the same duties, with respect to what is right and just, ought to be observed, as between man and man:—That only that deserves to be valued and admired, which has the good of mankind for its object:—and, That whatever has no tendency to this great end, degrades the Statesman.

YET the physical greatness of a state is still more the object of wonder and admiration, than the excellency of the constitution by which it is governed: men, in other respects possessed of estimable qualities, will still not scruple to make use of artifice, threats, insidious insinuations, and deceits, to gain their ends. Whatever may be said to convince them of their error, will pass with them for mere pedantry or declamation. And true it is, that then only the voice of truth will be heard and attended to, when the temper of the times is such, as to dispose mankind to lend her a willing ear. In his
life-

life-time, the honest Abbé St. Pierre was laughed at : posterity will do him that justice which he deserves.

THE seed of every fundamental truth is laid up in the soul of men, where revelation makes it thrive and come to perfection : and yet ages have elapsed before these truths were generally acknowledged and practised. With respect to other sciences it is not so : the reason of which is, that moral philosophy has to wage war with the passions, customs, and opinions preconceived, deeply rooted in the mind, and every where to be met with. And thus it is, that, with respect to forming and enlightening mankind, ages are what years are with respect to individuals.

As I have said before, the operations of nature, in the physical as well as in the moral world, have an imperceptible effect, produced as it were by a continual vibration ; and from this vibration it will depend, whether, in the whole, some progress is made. This cannot be denied. It is no wonder, then,

then, that the connections between moral and political philosophy are so little perceived : they do not lie within the circumscribed compass of our horizon.

THE first instinct of man directs him to be solicitous about his own good : if at the same time he is of a generous disposition, he will also promote that of his friends, and of his country. But what motives can prevail with him, to be also friendly disposed towards a foreign interest ? He who sees the welfare of his own country obstructed by the growing prosperity of another state, will soon contract a natural hatred against that state. When that breaks out in open hostilities, both parties will be intent upon their reciprocal ruin ; will both waste their strength, and make peace, merely to enable them to renew the contest. How rare a case is it, that the Statesman, from whom all these evils originated, is himself a sufferer by them ; that his houses and estates are reduced to ashes by the flames of the war which he kindled ; that his sons fall in battle ; and that his fortune

tune is ruined! But let us suppose him to be above minding his own interest and personal connections, and to have only the general good of the state in view; even then he will find that experience is his best guide. How few, in life, are the years of manly exertion and activity! Many will often elapse before the state will begin to suffer from the consequences of wrong measures; and frequently the mistaken Statesman will find himself at the end of his career, when he begins to see, but too late, the errors of his conduct.

It is, it must be owned, not so easy to draw the line between the duties of the public and the private man. The pomp which surrounds the former, his power and authority, are charms, against which a young beginner will hardly be proof. I give him credit for his good intentions, but do not choose to answer for him, that he will not entertain some secret hopes that his high station will help him to many opportunities for gratifying his private inclinations. Now

if, after having indulged the cravings of his ambition to the utmost of his wishes; if by a pliable and temporising conduct he has obtained what he wanted; can it be expected that then, all at once, the good of the state will become the sole object of his care and attention, in preference to his favourite inclinations and private connections? That man, who had so long made them the sole rule of his conduct; who had so long chiefly studied how to promote the interest of a few friends—is it to be expected, I say, that that man will now give himself entirely up to the good and the welfare of thousands, and that he will make every contracted habit give way to so arduous a task, and to so laborious an occupation? Will he be content to allot only spare moments to the more pleasing duties of the husband, the father, the friend, to comfort and relaxation?

Few there are that will fairly answer to themselves these questions: fewer still that are able to compass, in one view, the happiness of thousands. It is, therefore, from short-sighted-

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ness,

ness, that defect common to mortal man, that the practical knowledge of the true connections between moral philosophy and the art of government is so difficult to be obtained : yet that knowledge is not beyond our reach ; the history of mankind need but to be consulted.

There the Statesman's little stock of his own confined experience is amply supplied, for his instruction, by the experience of thousands of years standing : there towns and monarchies rise and fall again before his eyes : there he sees virtue, constancy, and prudence triumph over arrogance, power, and cunning : here folly and wisdom subdued ; there raised again by mere caprice of chance and fortune. But there also he may learn, that wisdom, rectitude, and justice, bid defiance to that caprice ; that, though depressed, they never were conquered ; and that their votaries then enjoyed comfort and satisfaction, when misery and shame fell to the lot of the culprit. The Statesman learns, from a thousand instances

stances in history, that he who attempts to govern others must first have learned to bridle his own inclinations, and to keep his passions within their proper bounds. He will feel his soul exalted by examples from the life of a Sully, of a Ximenes, and of so many other eminent men in all ages. His circle of vision will become more enlarged, and he will be convinced that political and moral philosophy may go hand in hand together.

In all times, Sejanus's and Alba's will be found; but in enlightened times in less number, and of less ferocious dispositions.

I BELIEVE it will now appear, that moral and political philosophy begin to be more thoroughly understood. Before I conclude, it will be expedient to cast a view on our present times, and on the notions which prevail with respect to the one and the other.

MANY are the shades and false lights which will be discernible in a picture of our own times. Avarice, a total indifference, if

not a contempt for good manners, monopolies, the Negro-trade, the traffic with the lives and fortunes of men, a thirst after new acquisitions, and many other defects of the same odious nature, are to be observed, more or less, in every other period of time; but, notwithstanding, never were so many effects of refined notions felt, as we perceive in our days: for now, in many respects, a glorious dawn begins, which promises to bring on that broad day-light so long wished for.

It is now generally understood, that an unnecessary and wanton limitation of liberty can do no good; that strength and prosperity will be best secured when more states are united; that by war countries are depopulated, and treasures wasted; that it is not the number of square miles, but population and good order, that give vigour to a state, and make it flourish; that by a wise and good government more advantages will be gained, than by strife and conquest; and that trade and the arts will be better promoted by encouraging merit, than by constraint and compulsion.

TOLERATION,

TOLERATION, enlarged notions, benevolence, and good order, begin to gain ground every where; and no former period of time has produced more monarchs, sovereigns, and statesmen, so deserving of respect from posterity.

HAIL! to the Statesman, whose actions are guided by the principles of general moral philosophy; who, satisfied with what the state has a right to, sets his face against every unjust proceeding; is equally a stranger to threats and artifice; a strenuous protector of liberty and property; a father to the people; and a true worshipper of the Deity. Such a Statesman is greater than the conqueror. If it should please Providence to bless some mighty monarch with such a man, the temper of the times is such, that with him a new epoch will begin, and the example he sets be followed by many.

BUT to depend upon this may perhaps be too flattering an expectation. Some disastrous concurrence of circumstances will frequently

quently produce obstacles not easily to be removed or surmounted. In the common run of affairs it often happens, that the most promising hopes of success are by some unforeseen event blasted for years together. The activity of the ablest Statesman is not sufficient to spread motion and life all around him, and for ever: some loss by death—jealousies—misunderstandings—some ill-natured opposer—malice—self-interest—prejudices—will but too often interfere, and cause the best-concerted plan to miscarry. But this ought not to discourage the Statesman: let him proceed with steadiness and resolution. Trials that have miscarried, will pave the way for further and more successful attempts. But let him take care not to be dazzled by the splendor of his high station. He ought never to forget, that, in the eyes of posterity, that splendor will have vanished, and that with her no other exertions, but those for the good of mankind, will be of any value. Nothing but the occasions for such exertions ought to be dear to him. If they absolutely fail him; if he finds himself so situated,

which

which however may not often be the case, that nothing is left him but to choose, whether he will be accessory to wrong and detrimental measures, or quit his post—then let him not waver in his resolution. The practice of virtue in his private station will afford him comfort and happiness. The example of the part he takes, will be the last blessing which he bestows upon the state; and he may look upon himself as an instrument, made choice of by Providence, to strengthen the empire of truth and virtue.

AND then will truth and virtue triumph, and the welfare of mankind be increased, when daily experience concurs to prove, that moral philosophy, and the art of government, are established upon the same principles.

F I N I S.